we shall see the waving ceremony. They make themselves ready and take with them one pot of squeezed-out-beer and one small pot of poured-out beer. This they call "Founding-still"[51]. Two men carry this along to the bride's home. When the bridegroom's party arrive there, they spread out straw for them to sit on in the temporary shed. The head-man of the bride's side says to the bridegroom's party: Please sit down here; we shall see the performance of the waving ceremony[52]. They sit down. 585

Now the Jog Mañjhi on the bride's side says: Please find the anointing girls and grind some turmeric; we shall anoint the bride and the bridegroom. The anointing girls anoint the bride and the bridegroom and those with them. Thereupon they give them food. At this time the bridegroom will not eat, and when they ask him, he will not speak. The bride's father then says to him: Do, my son-in-law, eat both of you, I shall give you both milk[53] to eat. And as he promises to give him a calf, he eats. When they have eaten, they get up. The anointing girls roll up the mat, and in the hem-end of their cloths they take the broken bits of turmeric. Now the conductress of ceremonies takes the lota with water and goes out into the courtyard; when she has gone out, they see that no figures are drawn at the Mahua post. The Jog Mañjhi then says to her: Please smear cow-dung there and draw figures with flour. She answers him: Give me something, then only I shall draw. The Jog Mañjhi says to the bridegroom's party: Please, honoured bridegroom's party, no drawing is being made here, as you see. They answer him: How is it that no drawing is being made; do exert yourself to make her draw. He answers them: I am exerting myself; it is not proper. They then say: Make her willing, we shall give (what is needed).

Thereupon the conductress of ceremonies plasters with cow-dung and draws figures, so that it may look nice. The Jog Mañjhi says to her: Now please, take the lota with water and lead the bride and the bridegroom three times round where drawings have been made. She does this; then the Jog Mañjhi says to the girls who are keeping the mats: Do spread the mat out on this drawing. They do this, and the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride and the bridegroom, the best-man, the two followers and the conductress: Please sit down on the mat. They sit down, and the Jog Mañjhi goes into the house and says to the bride's mother: Take out the lucky-pot[54]. The bride's mother and her followers, i. e., the wives of three brothers, take out the lucky-pot; and they also take with them one seer of paddy in a fold of their cloth; in front of the bride and the bridegroom they take the paddy out from the cloth-fold and put it down there, and thereupon they put the pot down on the top of the paddy. They put an earthenware lid on the mouth of the narrow-necked pot. After this they [532]

[51] The translation is only an attempt. The word rendered as "still" (bhaṭi, a Hindi word) is the name of the oven or kiln used by Bengālis when brewing beer or distilling liquor, and is by Santals mostly used fig. about liquor. [52] Different from the previously mentioned ceremony, in so much as the waving is ended by giving a present; cf. Dictionary s.v. cumaoya. [53] Fig. about the gift of a calf (heifer). [54] Kolams have seen the word that is the common one in Mayūrbhanj (haṛwīā jhiṭi) and sure in the Santal Parganas, where aguṇa jhiṭi, sown pot, is mostly heard.

[192] [273]

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after offering it to the ancestor-spirits. Thus stimulated, the tribe indulges in a water-carnival, when fluids of sun-dried rice are showered by the men and women on one another, amidst a great hilarity, as they parade up and down the *kulhi* (village-lane). 796

The afternoon witnesses *Khuntan*, as seen in the Santal Parganas, when, mischievous cows and buffaloes are tied to posts and teased with treacle cakes. But an additional interest is provided at Mayurbhanj in the shape of a mask-dance when the Santals impersonate tigers, snakes and elephants. [231] [532] [535]

The programme terminates on the fourth day after a tribal dance from house to house ; and thereafter, the paddy from the *biras* prepared to decorate the cattle is stored, and rice-beer brewed from it is reserved to be drunk on a later occasion.

Mòkòr (Sakrat[1] Mid-January.)

The Santals of Mayurbhanj observe a ceremony on the last day of *Pous* (mid-January) along with

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1 Dr. Campbell in his *Santali to English Dictionary*, while explaining *Sakrat Pörob* says that it is a festival observed on the *last three days of the Hindu year*, (Italics are ours), making it, presumably refer to an equivalent of Bengali *Chaitra Sankranti*. Most probably he is mistaken. Our version is also corroborated by Rev. Bodding who says, "Close upon Sohrae comes Sàkrat which is held on the last day of the month of *Paus*." (Dt. Gazetteer, Santal Parganas, 1910, page 128). 796 114

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796 the Hindu festival prevalent on the day. This
[769] is also called *Sakrant puja* and performed on an elaborate scale at Mayurbhanj, when *chira* (flattened rice) and molasses are offered to the dead ancestors.

796 On the first day, called "Banuṇḍi," people catch
262 fish and crab in the belief that if they can eat them on the day, they will be given a long lease of life. Tasteful cakes of meat, sun-dried rice-flour are prepared in all households ; and after baths, the Santals eat them with treacle and *til* (sesamum), *chira* (flattened rice) being a compulsory item. Mean-
[273] while, drinks of rice-beer go on.

796 Towards evening, the people indulge in archery
[526] competition on a target placed on a plantain tree. The successful one is cheered by the tribe and conveyed to the Headman's residence with a great demonstration, where the tribe is entertained with rice-beer and fried-rice. He, who can maintain a uniform record for three consecutive years, is awarded a special prize by the Headman, amidst tribal songs and dances.

The conclusion of the festival sees a great deal
[532] of mirth in all the houses. Puppet monkeys made
[574] of straw are made to dance from house to house. People raise subscriptions for a tribal dinner and the country-side rings with merry music and laughter of a good time.

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and woman) are offered a cock and a hen respectively, together with a liberal share of rice-beer. During harvest festivals, like *Sohrae* or the Flower Festival (*Baha*), fowls are sacrificed in their honour with prayers so that the members of the tribe may have no diseases such as bowel-complaints. The reverence paid to the memory of the dead relatives by the Santals will also be amply illustrated by the fact that the departed spirits of the dead brothers and unmarried sisters receive supplementary worship, after the propitiation of *Burha-Burhi*.

Mischievous Spirits

Santals have about a number of mischievous minor spirits, who find a devilish delight in bringing epidemics to men or cattle, unless propitiated with appropriate rituals.

We came across three such representatives in the Santal pantheon, *Kalachandi*, a male spirit, and *Kalamahichandi* and *Nasòn-kudra*, both female evil spirits, as exercising an uncanny influence on the tribe. The offerings that please them are *Ihitipiti* (Oriya, a kind of worm), frogs, grass-hoppers, fowls, human blood, vermilion, sun-dried rice, powdered charcoal and burnt clay from ovens. It is noteworthy that earthen images are made to represent these deities. They are at first invoked in the

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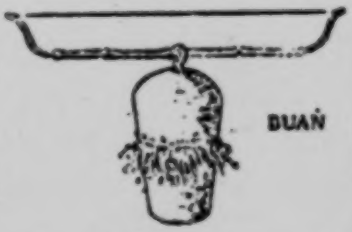
decorated with paper streamers. One of the songs sung to the accompaniment of the *buań* is in honour of the instrument itself and recounts the birth and growth of the gourd on the manure heap. Some of the dances enact hunting scenes and fights with bow and arrow.



During weddings and festivals the dancing takes place at night as well as in the daytime. Drink is plentiful, and the dance goes on until the moon is setting and the first light of morning appears in the sky. At these times dancing is associated with romance as well as with illicit flirtations and unions; amid the general rejoicing it is easy for couples to slip away unnoticed. Dancing, however, is not by any means confined to the more formal and set occasions. During the hot season in particular there is an almost nightly gathering in some part of the village, when the younger members of the community dance together. At these times the *lagre*, a simple dance, is much used. Of this there are many variations, and different varieties appear to be popular in different localities. One of the most popular in the area is a variety of *lagre* known as *porob*, which appears to be unknown elsewhere. These dances are suitable for any occasion.[1]

Santal music is largely but not entirely associated with dancing. The Santals are a musical people and find in music an outlet for the emotional and imaginative sides of their nature. From an early age boys begin to play on a whistle, the high and plaintive notes of which can be heard coming from the fields and woods as the boys tend the herds. Later most of them become proficient in playing the flute. The name *tirio* is used to denote different kinds of flute as well as the boys' whistle. Flutes contain six holes, and the usual type is the true flute that is held to one side—the instrument associated with Krishna in Hindu mythology. Some are beautifully made. One man playing at Sarenga during the Lakshmi Puja had a beautiful specimen; at the higher end there was a brass figure of Krishna playing the flute, while at the other end there was mounted a brass dove. Another type is shaped like an inverted T, the air being blown into the base of the T, while the arms,

[1] Bodding's *Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 331, lists thirty-one dances.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

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one of the original twelve *khût*. They are not allowed to have spots made on them and they will not be vaccinated, but they may be cicatrized; however, their daughters and sisters are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. The unmarried men are not allowed to wear any garment made from jute. They must not plaster their houses with any other than white earth; and they may not draw any pictures on the walls except plantain trees and date palms or figures that look like pictures of temples, drawn with three fingers only. They make their sacrifice at the time of the *Sohrae*; this is performed in the house, and they sacrifice a pig. One year it must be a male uncastrated pig and the next year a female, and if for any reason they cannot get hold of a pig they may sacrifice a black hen. They should sacrifice to their sub-clan spirit in the shelter of a white ant hill,[1] but in these days they bring some earth from the ant hill into the house and sacrifice there."

In a Sarenga schoolboy's essay on the origin of his own clan, he began by relating the creation of mankind and finally continued: "All the Sorens were the soldiers of the Kisku, who were the owners of the village at Campa Gar. The Marndi lived at Cirunala, and between the two villages there flowed the Sitanala river. They began to quarrel with each other because the people of the two villages had to use the same river for bathing and for drinking water. Now, since the Soren were the soldiers of the Kisku, they are like the Gurkhas of Nepal. Just as the Gurkhas are fierce and do not fear death, so too the Soren." So is virtue inculcated by fostering pride in the clan. One of the sub-clans of the Soren is the Poita Soren. *Poita* is the word—as pronounced by the Santals—for the sacred thread of the Brahmin. They relate that in the very early days the ancestors of the Soren were celebrating the *Jom Sim* festival and some of the company began to prepare the food and cook it. In imitation of Brahmin cooks they put on sacred threads and served all the people. From that time they became known as Poita Soren. When they sacrifice to their sub-clan spirit they sacrifice to him alone, and the offering has to consist of a male uncastrated pig. The rite is performed at sunrise. They may eat the flesh at any time during that day and the following night, and if they are unable to finish it they must bury it before the following sunrise

[1] For references to the sanctity of white ant hills see *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, by W. Crooke, C.I.E., p. 380. The belief is widespread in India. "From early times the earth from an ant hill has been regarded as specially pure, representing 'the savour of the earth', and it was, and is, used in building altars."

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so they say, nine generations ago. One of the first settlers was one Lokhon Mañjhi. Just before he died he had been paying a visit to the *boiga than*, probably the sacred grove of that day. It occupied a site that is now taken by the landlord's rent-collecting office and has quite disappeared. He returned home, sat down on his string bed to have a smoke, then suddenly fell over and died. Almost immediately, and before the news of Lokhon's death had passed through the village, a young man in the courtyard of a house belonging to Lokhon's paternal aunt became possessed. He announced to the assembled company that he was Lokhon and that they must make a sacred place for him. They chose an old banyan tree to the north of the village. This tree has long since disappeared, but its place has been taken by an *atnak'* tree, which serves equally well. The fact that the village has become largely non-Santal means that the sanctity of this particular shrine is recognized by people belonging to many different castes, and its reputation has grown with the years. All the offerings there are made by the Santal priest in the village, a man who is descended from Lokhon. He is also the local Santal headman and combines the two offices in one person; such an arrangement is not unique and seems to have been adopted often in places where the Santals are living surrounded by other communities. He and his predecessors have adapted themselves to the new situation, and so this shrine, now utilized by many non-Santals, is still served by a Santal priest. Every market day people from the surrounding villages come to offer sacrifices, to ask a boon, or to leave their thank-offerings of money for blessings that have been granted. Some of the more unscrupulous of the local inhabitants defy the spirits by hanging around and picking up the coins left by the devout.

At the base of the tree is the shrine, formed by a raised earthen mound on which there are many burnt clay effigies of horses and elephants. In front of the mound a narrow path has been cleared for about eight feet, so that the tree is approached from the west, the direction in which all the effigies are facing. This path has been cleared through a jumbled heap of innumerable small clay animal effigies that have been left at the shrine by devotees in the past in the performance of their vows. Here there were many opportunities for watching the priest at work, and the chief impression that stands out is the dignity and reverence with which he performed his tasks. On a particular Thursday in 1941 he first of all cleared a small space at